

## Message Text

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15

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAB-01 SCCT-01 ACDA-05 /084 W

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R 221544Z MAY 75

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 439

INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY JIDDA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

USMISSION USUN

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GENEVA FOR MEPC DEL

E.O. 11652 XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR, FR, US, XF

SUBJ: SOVIET VIEWS ON THE ME

1. FRENCH DEPUTY MFA DIRECTOR FOR ME (ROUILLON) HAD TALKS WITH SYTENKO ON THE MIDDLE EAST LATE LAST WEEK, JUST BEFORE SYTENKO LEFT FOR VIENNA TO PARTICIPATE IN THE KISSINGER-GROMYKO DISCUSSIONS. IN PREPARATION FOR THE CONSULTATIONS, THE FRENCH HAD SUBMITTED TO SYTENKO A SERIES OF WRITTEN QUESTIONS FOR CLARIFICATION. THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS HIS ANSWERS, AS CONVEYED TO US BY FRENCH AMBASSADOR VIMONT MAY 22.

2. PALESTINIAN STATE. THE SOVIETS CONFIRMED THAT THEY

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FAVOR AN INDEPENDENT PALESTINIAN STATE.

3. GENEVA CONFERENCE. THE FRENCH HAD ASKED WHAT THE SOVIETS HAD MEANT BY "CAREFUL PREPARATIONS." THE SOVIET ANSWER WAS THAT THERE MUST BE A BASIS OF COMMON POSITIONS BY THE USSR AND THE ARABS. THE FRENCH WERE INTRIGUED THAT THE ANSWER CONCERNED ONLY THE SOVIET-ARAB SIDE, WITH NOTING ABOUT ISRAEL.

4. PLO AND GENEVA. SYTENKO SAID THAT THE PLO WAS READY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE CONFERENCE SO LONG AS IT WAS NOT INVITED ON THE BASIS OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242.

5. AGENDA FOR THE CONFERENCE. SYTENKO WAS ASKED IF THE THREE ELEMENTS RECENTLY CITED IN SOVIET STATEMENTS (I.E., AGREEMENT ABOUT LIBERATION OF ALL OCCUPIED TERRITORIES, ABOUT GUARANTEEING PALESTINIAN RIGHTS, AND ABOUT SECURING AND GUARANTEEING THE RIGHTS OF ALL STATES OF THE ME TO AN INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE) WERE TO BE TAKEN UP SIMULTANEOUSLY OR SUCCESSIVELY AT THE CONFERENCE. SYTENKO SAID SIMULTANEOUSLY, BECAUSE EACH INTERACTS WITH THE OTHER. THE FRENCH TOOK THIS AS GOING AGAINST THE SPECULATION THAT THE SOVIET LISTING OF THESE ITEMS WAS INTENDED TO IMPLY THAT THE PALESTINIANS COULD COME INTO THE CONFERENCE AT A LATER STAGE.

6. WHAT KIND OF CONFERENCE? THE SOVIETS INSISTED THAT THEY WERE NOT INTERESTED IN A SHORT CEREMONIAL CONFERENCE LIKE THE LAST TIME. THIS TIME GENEVA HAD TO DEAL SERIOUSLY WITH REAL ISSUES.

7. PARTIAL MEASURES. THE SOVIETS SAID THAT PARTIAL MEASURES WERE PERMISSIBLE AS LONG AS THEY WERE WORKED OUT WITHIN THE CONFERENCE.

8. 1967 BORDERS. SYTENKO SAID THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT OPPOSE "MINOR RECTIFICATIONS" OF THE 1967 BORDERS AS LONG AS THE ARABS ACCEPTED SUCH RECITIFICATIONS.

9. GUARANTEES. THE SOVIETS SAID THEY DO NOT ENVISAGE A SPECIFIC SOVIET GUARANTEE OF ISRAEL'S BORDERS. RATHER, THEY ARE READY TO PARTICIPATE WITH OTHER STATES IN AN OVERALL  
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SYSTEM OF GUARANTEES, WHICH WOULD INCLUDE A GUARANTEE OF ISRAEL'S BORDERS.  
STOESSEL

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
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**To:** STATE  
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